

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 IO-06 EUR-08

PM-03 SP-02 L-01 DHA-02 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EB-04

OMB-01 TRSE-00 /056 W

-----101554Z 107474 /53

P 101440Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3912

S E C R E T MONROVIA 1680

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT ON RHODESIAN SITUATION

REF: MONROVIA 1652

1. AWARE THAT I WAS HAVING CONVERSATION WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA MORNING MARCH 8, REFTEL, PRESIDENT TOLBERT INSISTED ON SEEING ME IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER FOR DEBRIEFING. ACTING FONMIN SIAFA SHERMAN WAS PRESENT DURING CONVERSATION. TOLBERT EXPRESSED CONTINUING CONCERN OVER THE THREAT TO UNITY OF THE ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS CAUSED BY FRONTLINE STATES' DECISION TO BACK PATRIOTIC FRONT. HE SAID THAT HE WAS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN LOME DECISION TO DEFER TO OAU SUMMIT QUESTION OF AFRICAN-WIDE ACCEPTANCE THIS BACKING AND THAT HE FELT ALL THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS MUST BE TREATED EQUALLY. HE NOTED THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN HIS OWN POLICY, THAT HE HAS SUPPORTED MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND NKOMO IN LIKE FASHION. THEY EACH OCCUPY THE SAME APARTMENT IN THE EXECUTIVE MANSION IN MONROVIA WHEN THEY ARE HERE, HE PAYS FOR THEIR TRANSPORTATION TO THEIR NEXT STOP WHEN THEY LEAVE MONROVIA, AND HE GAVE EACH FINANCIAL SUPPORT WHILE IN GENEVA.

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HE SAID HE WANTS TO WAIT TO TALK WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER (DENNIS IS CURRENTLY IN CAIRO AND SPENT ONLY 24 HOURS IN MONROVIA BETWEEN LOME AND THE AFRO/ARAB SUMMIT) BEFORE PLANNING THE NEXT STEPS TO INFLUENCE THE OAU SUMMIT ON THE RECOGNITION ISSUE. HE EXPRESSED FEAR THAT THE OAU WOULD SPLIT AS IT DID ON ANGOLA ON THIS ISSUE AND HE NOTED HOW INCREASINGLY RHODESIAN SITUATION

IS LOOKING LIKE ANGOLA. HE SAID ONE PROBLEM IS THAT SOME OF THE SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS IN AFRICA VOTE WHICHEVER WAY THE SOVIETS ARE LEANING, WHICH IN CASE OF RHODESIA IS TOWARD NKOMO/MUGABE. HE AGREED WITH MUZOREWA'S STATEMENT THAT NKOMO HAS NO MONEY PROBLEMS AND NOTED THAT SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES (I.E. KAUNDA) FAIL TO REALIZE THAT ECONOMIC SUPPORT GIVES POLITICAL POWER TO THE RECIPIENT.

2. ON ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HE WAS CLEARLY AWARE OF MUZOREWA'S REQUEST FOR US SUPPORT AND WAS OBVIOUSLY ANXIOUS FOR MY REACTION. I TOLD HIM THAT NATURALLY I COULD TAKE NO ACTION OTHER THAN REPORT TO WASHINGTON MUZOREWA'S REQUEST. I DID SPECULATE THAT ARMS AND PERSONNEL AS OPPOSED TO FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE WERE OUT OF THE QUESTION. I POSED TO TOLBERT WHETHER, AS MUZOREWA HAD SUGGESTED, LIBERIA WOULD BE WILLING TO BE A CONDUIT FOR FUNDS IN THAT HYPOTHETICAL EVENTUALITY. TOLBERT RESPONDED THAT TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE HE MUST MAINTAIN NEUTRALITY AND CLOSE TIES WITH ALL INDEPENDENCE LEADERS SINCE UNITY REMAINS HIS PARAMOUNT OBJECTIVE. HE ADDED ONLY THAT HE WOULD NONETHELESS GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION SHOULD ANY REQUESTS TO ACT AS CONDUIT BE RECEIVED.

3. COMMENT: MUZOREWA'S APPOINTMENT WITH ME WAS REQUESTED DIRECTLY BY THE GOL'S ACTING FONMIN WHO TREATED THE MATTER AS ONE OF GREAT URGENCY. IT IS CLEAR FROM THIS AND MY CONVERSATION WITH TOLBERT THAT THE PRESIDENT URGED MUZOREWA TO SEE ME AND TO REQUEST US ASSISTANCE AND DIRECT  
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INVOLVEMENT. TOLBERT IS CLEARLY CONCERNED OVER AND OPPOSED TO THE FRONT LINE STATES' RECOGNITION MOVE AND IS ALSO DETERMINED TO PLAY A ROLE IN TRYING TO GET THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS TOGETHER. HE HAS BEEN SUPPORTING THEM ALL FOR SOME TIME, SEES THEM MORE OR LESS REGULARLY IN MONROVIA, AND HAS SENT HIS FONMIN TO THEM ON OCCASION. HE DOUBTLESS FEELS HE HAS SOME INFLUENCE AND SHOULD USE THAT INFLUENCE IN AN EFFORT AT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN QUESTION.  
CARTER

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NNN



## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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